2: Schaden--103 E-4, 5 (1948-1954) 1962 SM4 Guarani SM4

/86 cont./

846 The paternal resguardo after the birth of the child is known
[171] in anthropology by the name of couvade. It occurs in many Brazilian tribes and has given rise to the most varied interpretations. The preoccupation, reasonable by the way, with considering the couvade in its relations with the birth ritual should not be carried to the exaggeration of reducing the couvade itself to a rite or
[114] conjunction of ritualized acts. In order to understand the functions of the couvade -- Roger Bastide quite correctly warned -- it is less important to study its ritualization than to compare it with other situations of life and practices analogous to it. From such a comparison it will become apparent what is general and what is specific in these practices and situations. As /87/ we have
[196] seen, the Guaraní, speaking Portuguese, calls the paternal brooding "resguardo," but he also applies the term, at least nowadays, to the measures taken by the mother of the newborn baby. This is already significant: there thus exists a common element in the paternal and maternal relations. On the other hand, however, there are also distinctive elements. I have rarely heard the term
[827] odjépotá used for the mother, and only the Mbüá consider her (odjéko)aká: the others do not have a special designation for the
[115] state of the parturient woman. Ermelina, the oldest Ñandéva woman of the village of Bananal, remembers the time when the Guaraní (Ñandéva) parturient women got up as soon as the first day; nowadays, she adds, "they stay there a week without being able to do anything." -- Among the present-day Ñandéva of Dourados, the
[184] woman stays in bed some four days after the birth; the Kayová woman remains seated for two or three days with her legs crossed, lying down only at night.

Finally, there are common and divergent elements. In any case one should speak of the couvade only in relation to the father.

[189] If, in situations different from, but in part analogous to that
[114] in which the family is expanded by a newborn baby, precautions of the couvade type are required, that is, magical measures to neutralize the vulnerability -- physical and psychic -- stemming from a state of "weakness," the hypothesis held by various authors,

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*192 Spaniard come, I shall be brave: *Tach kamék*
*193 *Kaámelk, la riapotam.* See how well the Abipones do without the verb *to be!* as also the verb *to have.* I have many horses: *Ayte yla ahëpega:* many horses mine. I have many fleas: *Netegink loapakate enò! Pop.* I have no meat: *Chitkaekà lpabè.* I have no fishes: *Chigekoà nòayi. Hekà* has the same meaning with the Abipones that *datur* or *suppetit* has with the Latins, *es giebet* with the Germans, and *hay* with the Spaniards. *Chitkaekà* is a negative, and signifies that there is no meat, fishes, &c. In the plural number it changes to *chigekoà.* Is there food? *Meka kanák?*

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Neogà means a day, and likewise time.
[805] *Grauek,* the moon, is taken for a month. *Yñieña,* the flower of the alfaroba, also denotes a year. Hence, when they wish to ask any one how old he is, they say, How many times has the alfaroba blossomed during your life-time? *Hegem leyera yñiegari?* which is a very poetical expression. For the body they name the
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[196] skin or bone, thus taking the part for the whole. *Yoalè* means only a husband; it is however used to signify a man. In the same way
G the Guaranies use the word *Aba,* which denotes
192 a husband, and the Guarany nation, as they
196 have no word for man. *Aba che* has three meanings, I am a *Guarany,* I am a *man,* or I am

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a *husband*; which of these is meant, must be gathered from the tenor of the conversation. Perhaps there are nowhere more virgins than in the country of the Abipones, yet they cannot express a virgin except by a paraphrase, as *haayè* simply means a young girl. For never, they say *chik* or *chit*, thus, I shall never go hence: *Chik rihiukàm*. They more frequently say, *Chitlgihe rihiukàm*. *Chitlgihe* means, there appears no time in which I shall go hence. They express *eternal* by interminable, thus: Life eternal, *Eleyr̃a chit kataikañi*, the life which is not finished. We used the Spanish word for God, whose name they are ignorant of: *Dios*, *eknam Kaógarik*, or *Naenatr̃anak hipigem, kachka aalò*. God, who is the maker of all things, or the creator of heaven and earth. *Kauè* signifies to make; *Kaógarik*, a maker. They call eggs *Tetarik l'kauetè*, the hen's work.

They cannot express *everywhere* in one word, but explain it in this way: God is in heaven, in earth, and there is not a place in which he is not; *Menetchegem quem hipigém, menetañi quen aaloà, ka chigekòr amà, chig enaè*. I omit innumerable other words which they want, but which they make up for in various ways. Many things which we always express with one and the same word, they distinguish with various names, or entirely transform, by clothing the original word